

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-15 AID-01 NSC-06
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P R 271330Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6837
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALLAAM
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0370

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

LUSAKA PLEASE PASS TO CODEL DIGGS

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: MZ, RH
SUBJECT: CODEL DIGGS MEETING WITH MARCELINO DOS SANTOS

1. SUMMARY: CODEL DIGGS MET WITH MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT
(AND NUMBER TWO IN THE GOVERNMENT) MARCELINO DO SANTOS FOR
APPROXIMATELY ONE HOURS EVENING OF MARCH 24. DISCUSSION
CENTERED ON INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA MOZAMBIQUES
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND PLANS. DOS SANTOS CONDEMNED THE
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND CALLED MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE POLITICAL
OPPORTUNISTS. DOS SANTOS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MOZAMBIQUE IS
FACING SERIOUS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES BUT CLAIMED GOVERNMENT
IS WORKING HARD TO RAISE PRODUCTIVITY AND STANDARD OF LIVING
FOR THE MASSES. END SUMMARY.

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2. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS ACCOMPANIED BY DCM CARSON. STAFF
AIDE HERSCHELLE CHALLENGER AND STATE ESCORT OFFICERS LANPHER
AND BALTIMORE HAD CORDIAL AND RELAXED HOUR LONG CONVERSATION
WITH MINISTER OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MARCELINO
DOS SANTOS MARCH 24. MEETING STARTED AT 1900 HOURS AND
TOOK PLACE IN DOS SANTOS OFFICE. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS
OPENED CONVERSATION BY OUTLINING REASONS FOR HIS VISIT

TO MOZAMBIQUE AND AFRICA. DIGGS SAID THAT CODEL WAS IN INTERESTED IN OBTAINING MOZAMBIQUE EVALUATION OF INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND IN INFORMING MOZAMBICANS ABOUT CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS THAT MIGHT AFFECT MOZAMBIQUE. CODEL ALSO WANTED TO BE PRESENT IN LAGOS WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER MAKES HIS HISTORIC VISIT TO NIGERIA.

3. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS SAID THAT PRESIDENT MACHEL'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER LAST OCTOBER HAD A "VERY DRAMATIC AFFECT ON RELATIONS BETWEEN MOZAMBIQUE AND THE U.S." THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IS TRYING HARD TO ASSIST MOZAMBIQUE IN ITS DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS AND IN OVERCOMING THE PROBLEMS OF APPLYING SANCTION AGAINST RHODESIA. DIGGS EXPLAINED THAT THE CONGRESS IS THE PROBLEM IN OBTAINING ASSISTANCE FOR MOZAMBIQUE. DIGGS SAID THAT THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS WHO WERE IN FAVOR OF GIVING ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE HAD INCREASED AND THAT THERE WOULD BE A DETERMINED EFFORT THIS YEAR TO GET SOME AID FOR MOZAMBAIUE. DIGGS SAID THE FAVORABLE ARTICLES WRITTEN BY OTTOWAY, OF THE WASHINGTON POST AND KAUFMANN OF NEW YORK TIMES HAD HELPED MOZAMBIQUE, BUT CONCLUDED THAT THE BATTLE IN THE CONGRESS WILL BE TOUGH. DR. CHALLENGOR AND FSO LANPHER THEN REVIEWED STATUS OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION FOR FY 1979 AND TALKED BRIEFLY ABOUT PROBLEMS PROPOSED LEGISLATION WOULD HAVE IN OBTAINING PASSAGE.

4. AFTER THANKING CODEL FOR ITS WORK ON BEHALF OF MOZAMBIQUE.
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DOS SANTOS TURNED IMMEDIATELY TO THE QUESTION OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. HE SAID MOZAMBIQUE IS AGAINST SMITH'S INTERNAL AGREEMENT. "IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE REAL INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE." RHODESIA UNDER THE CONTROL OF SITHOLE, MUZOREWA, CHIRAU AND SMITH WILL BE LIKE ANOTHER SOUTH AFRICAN BANTUSTAN. MUGABE AND NKOMO ARE FIGHTING FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE. MOZAMBIQUE SUPPORT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

5. DOS SANTOS EXPLAINED THAT SMITH MANAGED TO CONCLUDE AN INTERNAL AGREEMENT BECAUSE THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IS VERY DIFFICULT AND BECAUSE MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE ARE POLITICAL OPPORTUNISTS. DOS SANTOS CONTENDED THAT THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS JOINED SMITH WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THEY COULD NOT WIN THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY OF ZIMBABWEANS. TURNING TO THE UK AND US, DOS SANTOS REMARKED THAT BOTH LONDON AND WASHINGTON WERE ALSO "PARTIALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR SMITH'S SUCCESS." NEITHER COUNTRY CONDEMNED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND BOTH HAD ABSTAINED ON THE RECENT UNSC RESOLUTION. HE SAID, "MOZAMBIQUE DOES NOT KNOW WHETHER THE U.S. IS FOR OR AGAINST THE PF." DOS SANTOS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE WEAKNESS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT

HAD ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO THE SMITH SUCCESS. BEFORE CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS ON THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, HE LASHED OUT AT MALAWI, SAYING THAT IT DOES NOT SURPRISE MOZAMBIQUE THAT BANDA SUPPORTS SMITH'S DEAL. MALAWI IS AT THIS VERY MOMENT COMMITTING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SUBVERSION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE.

6. ON MOZAMBIQUE'S DOMESTIC PROBLEMS, DOS SANTOS SAID THAT APPLYING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS HAS HURT. WE HAVE SERIOUS ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. MOZAMBIQUE NEEDS OUTSIDE INVESTMENT. HOWEVER, THE COUNTRY IS BETTER ORGANIZED TODAY. THE STATE APPARATUS HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED AND WE ARE PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ESTABLISHED CO-OPERATIVES, STATE FARMS AND COMMUNAL VILLAGES. THESE FARMS
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ARE STARTING TO PRODUCE THE GOOD NECESSARY TO FEED THE PEOPLE. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO MAKING AN EFFORT TO BUILD SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS AND TO EXTEND MEDICAL SERVICES IN THE RURAL AREAS. ALL OF THESE PROJECTS ESPECIALLY THOSE IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, REQUIRE MAJOR INVESTMENT WE ARE ASKING OUR FRIENDS FOR ASSISTANCE.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0000
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY 2095
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0370

7. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS THEN ASKED DOS SANTOS SEVERAL QUESTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY ABOUT WHAT U.S. SHOULD BE DOING ABOUT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, DOS SANTOS REPLIED THAT: (A) THE U.S. SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT IS ON THE SIDE OF THE PEOPLE IN ZIMBABWE; AND, (B) THE U.S. SHOULD NOT BE MEETING IN PRETORIA WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SMITH REGIME. DOS SANTOS SAID IT IS SOMETIMES "UNCLEAR" WHERE THE U.S. REALLY STANDS. MOZAMBIQUE HAS "FOLLOWED" THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, BELIEVES THEY HAVE MANY POSITIVE ASPECTS AND THINK THEY SHOULD BE BUILT UPON. DOS SANTOS NOTED THAT THE U.S. MUST CLARIFY ITS POSITION.

8. ASKED IF WIDENING SANCTIONS TO INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA WOULD HURT THE MOZAMBIQUE ECONOMY, DOS SANTOS RESPONDED AFFIRMATIVELY. HOWEVER, HE QUICKLY ADDED THAT THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE WERE PREPARED TO MAKE ADDITIONAL SACRIFICES FOR THE LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE. ON THE QUESTION OF WHAT MOZAMBIQUE WOULD DO IF SMITH STEPPED ASIDE SOONER THAN DECEMBER 31, DOS SANTOS SAID THAT IT WOULD NOT MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE, ESPECIALLY IF SITHOLE, MUZOREWA AND CHIRAU STAYED ON. THE INTERNAL NATIONALIST ARE NOW PART AND PARCEL OF
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THE SMITH GOVERNMENT AND THEY MUST NOW GO AS WELL. BEFORE CONCLUDING, DOS SANTOS SAID THAT HE WAS NOT WORKING ON THE RHODESIAN QUESTION, THE GOVERNMENT WAS CONSIDERING ITS POSITION ON RHODESIA AND THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WOULD GIVE CONGRESSMAN DIGGS A FULL BRIEFING BEFORE HE DEPARTED FOR LUSAKA. (SEE MAPUTO 0366 FOR CODEL CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHISSANO).

9. COMMENT: MEETING WITH DOS SANTOS WAS CORDIAL AND FRIENDLY. CODEL FOUND DOS SANTOS OPEN AND FORTHCOMING AND NOT NEARLY AS DOCTRINAIRE, PHILOSOPHICAL AND ROMANTIC AS HE WAS IN NOVEMBER 1976 WHEN CODEL LAST MET WITH HIM. DOS SANTOS' PRESENTATION WAS DEVOID OF MARXIST RHETORIC AND HE LEFT THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS LOOKING FOR PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS TO THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC WOES. DOS SANTOS ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MOZAMBIQUE WAS FEELING THE EFFECTS OF APPLYING RHODESIAN SANCTIONS. HOWEVER, HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT MOZAMBIQUE WAS PREPARED TO SHOULDER A GREATER BURDEN TO HELP THE ZIMBABWEAN CAUSE.

10. ON FOREIGN POLICY, DOS SANTOS REITERATED MOZAMBIQUE'S OBJECTION TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND ITS QUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. HOWEVER, HE HAD HARSH WORDS FOR THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS. HE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE WELL BRIEFED ON THE DETAILS OF MOZAMBIQUE'S CURRENT POSITION ON ZIMBABWE AND AT ONE POINT SAID AS MUCH.
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